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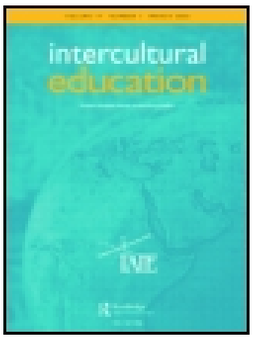

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Hennie Kesak & Goran Basic

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Interculturalism, ethnicity, and multilingualism in upper secondary school: an analysis of social pedagogical identities during pedagogical work with newly arrived students in Sweden

Hennie Kesak and Goran Basic

Faculty of Social Sciences Department of Pedagogy and Learning, Linnaeus University, Växjö, Sweden

ABSTRACT

The aim of the present study is to attain new knowledge about interculturalism, ethnicity, and multilingualism in the upper secondary school context in conjunction with pedagogical work with students who are newly arrived in the country. The empirical material for the study was collected in the upper secondary context in Sweden and consists of documents, field notes, and qualitative interview. Analysis shows that a distance relationship is created and recreated in the interactive flow between the newly arrived students and the teachers' institution when ethnic social pedagogical monitoring and control are represented in writing by the institution (the upper secondary school) and verbally in the observed and recounted situations. Social pedagogical identities are produced and reproduced in the interactive dynamic, in which the newly arrived student is represented as a successful student, developing in the social pedagogical meaning. However, the newly arrived student also is represented as a humiliated, weary, excluded student who, through demonstration of moral dissolution, displays an ethnified victim student identity that is in opposition to the teachers and institution. This represented humiliation, weariness, and exclusion of the newly arrived student constructs and reconstructs the image of a disadvantaged student. The effect is likely a negative impact on the aims of the upper secondary school to include and integrate newly arrived students into the school community and society at large.

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Intercultural pedagogy; education dynamic; intercultural education; social pedagogical monitoring; social pedagogical control

Introduction

The aim of this article is to gain new knowledge about interculturalism, ethnicity, and multilingualism in the upper secondary school context in conjunction with learning and teaching work with newly arrived students[1]. The issues focused on in the study are as follows: 1) How are the creation and recreation

CONTACT Goran Basic goran.basic@lnu.se

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of the identities of newly arrived students represented during teaching and learning activities in upper secondary school? 2) How is the significance of the creation and recreation of the identities of newly arrived students represented for overall inclusion and integration into the school community and society at large?

A number of researchers have noted that students newly arrived in a country possess knowledge related to at least one language and culture, as well as a great deal of other knowledge, skills, and experiences, whether they have attended school or not (Nilsson and Axelsson 2013; Nilsson and Bunar 2016; Nilsson Folke 2016). A quality review carried out in 2017 by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate stressed that for students newly arrived in Sweden, many of the responsible authorities (upper secondary schools) do not meet the students' educational needs and the students do not receive the support and guidance they need. The researchers maintain that because the teachers usually do not relate their teaching to the previous knowledge and experience of these newly arrived students, these students find it more difficult to reach the aim of inclusion and integration into the school community and society at large.

In the same quality review, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (2017) noted that upper secondary schools in Sweden have a responsibility to provide newly arrived students with a good education and that to achieve this target, all upper secondary school staff need knowledge about the 'inclusive intercultural approach' as well as knowledge about the previous learning of the newly arrived students. A number of researchers have also noted the significance of teachers' developing their own intercultural competence (and/or training in intercultural perspectives) to be able to take the next step in working with newly arrived students based on precisely the required inclusive intercultural approach (Gillborn 1990; Wiseman 1995; Alfakir, Lahdenperä, and Strandberg 2010; Dervin and Gross 2016; Akkari and Radhouane 2022).

The intercultural perspective is based on a theoretical and methodological reasoning that society is not run solely from above and that the normal state of context and community is not characterised by clear structures and social order. Social order, like social disorder, does not arise solely from normative guidelines in context; rather, both social order and disorder are produced and reproduced through interpersonal interaction, constitutive rules, meaning making, control, and monitoring, which are continually created and recreated in situations, interactions, and events. These creations and recreations can be observed in situ and be described, related, retold, and represented verbally and in writing in a myriad of interpersonal interactions during and after a particular situation is played out (Wiseman 1995; Alfakir, Lahdenperä, and Strandberg 2010; Taylor 2013; Dervin and Gross 2016; Akkari and Radhouane 2022; Basic 2022; Medegård, Henrixon, and Basic 2022). The intercultural perspective is a useful

tool for analysis and reanalysis of various phenomena in school contexts, including both social and pedagogical phenomena.

Theoretical framework

The central starting point in the intercultural perspective is an analytical curiosity towards the others, the others' interpretation of phenomena and others' actions based on this interpretation, and the interest actualised in connection with the action. The central starting point in the intercultural perspective will consist of, for example: 1) an awareness of and analytical focus on the ethnicity, multilingualism, various social identities (including ethnic identity), and various pedagogical identities (such as student identity, successful student identity) of the actors that they created and recreated (or constructed and reconstructed) in and during interpersonal interactions (interactions that include written and verbal descriptions and narrations); 2) social codes, social control, prejudices, monitoring, denigration of actors, and victimhood produced and reproduced in interpersonal interaction; 3) varying understandings, descriptions, narrations, and accounts of learning, teaching, and upbringing; and 4) representations, constructions, reconstructions, productions, and reproductions of learning, teaching, and upbringing (Wiseman 1995; Alfakir, Lahdenperä, and Strandberg 2010; Taylor 2013; Dervin and Gross 2016; Akkari and Radhouane 2022; Basic 2022; Medegård, Henrixon, and Basic 2022).

Knowledge related to languages, cultures, and other skills and experiences that an individual has mastered are created and recreated in myriad interpersonal interactions. In this way, the language or languages that the individual has a command and mastery of become(s) an important starting point for the intercultural, social, and pedagogical processes that contribute to social pedagogical development of the individual in different contexts and communities (Hämäläinen and Eriksson 2016; Úcar, Soler-Masó, and Planas-Lladó 2020; Basic, Lokareva, and Stadnichenko 2021; Basic 2021). 'Language' here indicates not only what is said during a conversation but also how it is said, by whom, and with what purpose, how it is used, and how it is received by the others in the conversation. It is not simply a question of the speaker's desire to self-represent as competent or in a generally advantageous way but also to self-represent in a way that corresponds to the normative order in the situation, social control and monitoring in the situation, and the formal and informal rules that apply. In that particular situation, individuals can act based on a set of various identities at their disposal and that they choose strategically and non-strategically to use.

Ethnic and social pedagogical identities

Identities that are conveyed via verbal and written representations in the school context are dynamic and changeable in the interactive flow that arises

between actors in this context. These various identities, such as ethnic identity, gender identity, student identity, successful student identity, denigrated student identity, and victim identity, may be actualised, marked, and shaped for use by actors in different ways in different situations. To represent situations and events verbally and in writing may thus be seen as a way for the actor to negotiate identities within a particular school context (Gillborn 1990; Larochelle, Bednarz, and Garrison 1998; Hylland Eriksen 2007, 2010; Taber 2012; Basic 2015; Farr, Farrell, and Riordan 2019). Distance-taking from others is one way the production and reproduction of identities takes place in the school context, created and recreated in the actor's verbal and written representations. The individual can carry out identity work by distance-taking, such as showing or dramatising in narratives that one does not belong to a specific category or taking distance from a country or an institution in that country (Gillborn 1990; Larochelle, Bednarz, and Garrison 1998; Hylland Eriksen 2007, 2010; Taber 2012; Basic 2015; Farr, Farrell, and Riordan 2019).

Ethnic identities, like other identities that figure in the upper secondary school context, do not appear to be clearly defined: They can be negotiated and may be situated on the border between different categories. Newly arrived students in upper secondary school use several different identities at the same time and in the same situation, such as student identity, gender identity, and ethnic identity. These identities may be analysed as names the individual self-applies, and as these identities are represented in social interactions (socially constructed), they also can be changed in the context during the interactive flow. Ethnic and other identities in the upper secondary school context are analysed in the present study as an ongoing relationship process between actors who experience themselves as distanced from other categories, with which they are represented as having a minimum of regular interaction. In accordance with this, ethnic and other identities in the upper secondary school context may also be analysed as social pedagogical identities, in that they are based on a contrast in relationships with others in the upper secondary school context, related to both social and pedagogical categories/phenomena. These identities are represented in narratives when actors in the interaction perform (or actualise) their own or the other person's learning, multilingualism, education, upbringing, culture, nation, language, religion, tribe, 'immigrantness', or skin colour (Gillborn 1990; Larochelle, Bednarz, and Garrison 1998; Hylland Eriksen 2007, 2010; Taber 2012; Basic 2015; Farr, Farrell, and Riordan 2019).

In interactions in the school context, both newly arrived students and established students and teachers use the language or multilingualism that newly arrived students have mastered, as well as other ethnicity markers that appear in the school context, such as culture, nation, religion, tribe, 'immigrantness', and skin colour (Gillborn 1990; Larochelle, Bednarz, and Garrison 1998; Hylland Eriksen 2007, 2010; Taber 2012; Basic 2015; Farr, Farrell, and Riordan 2019).

Ethnicity markers are used in internal relations within and between collectives. Most commonly, ethnicity is used as a verbal and written representation and as a tool in interaction, i.e. to achieve different things or to stress or highlight a desired image during communication. Many interactions as well as social control and monitoring in the school context are ethnically loaded in this way.

Previous research on pedagogical work with newly arrived students has demonstrated the importance of analysing and understanding overall inclusion and integration into the school community and into society at large by the subject-making of the newly arrived student as a key actor in context (Evans and Liu 2018; Fuller 2018; Björk, Danielsson, and Basic 2019; Berggren, Torpsten, and Järkestig Bergren 2020). This research also highlights an important point: an analytical focus on the experiences, actions, stories, and verbal and written representations of newly arrived students contributes to the concept 'integration' being adapted and brought closer to the interactive dynamic process related to creation and recreation of the social pedagogical identities (Hämäläinen and Eriksson 2016; Úcar, Soler-Masó, and Planas-Lladó 2020; Basic, Lokareva, and Stadnichenko 2021; Basic 2021) of newly arrived students during teaching and learning activities in school. In this process, power relationships, conflicts, and resistance are produced and reproduced among newly arrived students, teachers, parents, and other students (who are already better included and integrated into the school context). These phenomena play out with the direct and indirect influence of curricula in the school context, school rules and regulations, timetables, tests, and other practical learning and teaching situations. These aspects mean that the school context and different actors in the school context control and monitor (in the social pedagogical meaning) newly arrived students by interactively conveying to them how they should behave and think and what they should learn, believe, and know to be students in that school, as well as what they should believe and know to be part of the context as accepted members of the school community and society at large (Evans and Liu 2018; Fuller 2018; Björk, Danielsson, and Basic 2019; Berggren, Torpsten, and Järkestig Bergren 2020; Johnsson, Blivik, and Basic 2021).

The effect is a contribution to the production and reproduction of different images of what is expected of newly arrived students in the school context, all in relation to the specific social pedagogical normative order in that context. This normative order is an important pillar for identity creation and recreation of newly arrived students during teaching and learning activities in upper secondary school. Moreover, the social pedagogical control and monitoring outside and inside the school context is significant for the production and reproduction of different images of what is expected of newly arrived students in the school context (Hämäläinen and Eriksson 2016; Úcar, Soler-Masó, and Planas-Lladó 2020; Basic, Lokareva, and Stadnichenko 2021; Basic 2021).

Methodology

Related to the empirical material that was collected and analysed, the present study begins from the methodological standpoint (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Silverman 2015), that the theoretical reasoning about the intercultural perspective, multilingualism and ethnic and social pedagogical identities is a suitable model for analysis of different types of interactions that were observed, recounted, or written in documents in the analysed upper secondary context.

The empirical material in the study consists of 15 qualitative interviews with newly arrived students and 11 written-up field notes from observations carried out over approximately 45 hours (divided into 11 sessions) during lessons in classes where newly arrived students were being taught. Also included in these hours are observations made during staff meetings where teachers and other professional actors in the upper secondary context were discussing the organisation of their practical work with newly arrived students. In addition, the empirical material in the study consists of documents from the upper secondary school context that were collected during fieldwork. The empirical material was collected and analysed, taking inspiration from qualitative methods and ethnographic research (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Silverman 2015) within the framework of the research project, 'School success for newly arrived students: possibilities, obstacles, identities and collaboration' (Linnaeus University 2023).

Findings

Representation of ethnic normative order in upper secondary school

Different documents that appear in the upper secondary school context related to curricula, rules, timetables, tests, and other practical teaching and learning situations may be analysed as a written representation of an ethnic socio-pedagogical normative order. This order is influenced partly by the ethnic social pedagogical control and monitoring in the upper secondary school context and partly by ethnic power relations in an interactive meaning that characterises this context in relation to the practical and organisational work with the student category 'newly arrived student'.

Some of the documents that figure in the upper secondary school context are shared with newly arrived students and their guardians, who are both expected to write their signature to confirm that they have taken note of the content. These documents may be analysed as contractual, a tool with which the upper secondary school describes and provides information about its vision and objectives and requests a form of accord with the newly arrived students and guardians, which they are expected to demonstrate by providing their signature. These and similar documents are common in the Swedish school context, at the compulsory school and upper secondary school levels, and some of these

documents are also published on the school websites on the Internet. Five sequences from the empirical material of the study related to the collected and analysed documents constitute a case that sheds light on the vision and two objectives of the upper secondary school related to the student category 'newly arrived students'. These sequences also illuminate expectations placed on professional actors in the upper secondary school, newly arrived students, and legal guardians. The interesting thing is the lack of expectation that an upper secondary school representative should sign the documents and send them back to the student – the expectation for a signature on the document falls solely on newly arrived students and their legal guardians. In the interactive meaning, this requirement for a signature is an analytical example of the social pedagogical control and monitoring in the upper secondary school context as well as of the power relationship in the interactive meaning between the actors involved. Further images produced in this case are that the upper secondary school has two overarching objectives related to newly arrived students, and the second of these conveys the significance of nation, of 'Swedish society':

> *The first is the pedagogical objective, to convey knowledge and skills to the students. The second involves communicating and entrenching the basic democratic values upon which Swedish society rests. In the latter, parents and the school share equal responsibility.*
> *(Document)*

The actualisation of the ethnicity markers (1) nation ('Swedish society') and (2) culture ('democratic values upon which Swedish society rests') is based on a contrast in relation to *the others* in the Swedish upper secondary school context. Actualisation of the category *Swedish society* implicitly also actualises categories such as Afghan society, Iranian society, or Syrian society. In this way, the social pedagogical control and monitoring in the upper secondary school context is ethnified, based on a contrast between different ethnicity markers in relation to each other. In the same empirical sequence, the interactive power relationships also become ethnified, based on a dichotomy positioning between a strong *we* represented by 'the school' and a weak *they* represented by newly arrived students and their legal guardians. In the quote from the document below, the stated expectations are explicitly related to the upper secondary school, newly arrived students, and legal guardians. Note how the school is represented with a strong and united 'we' ('we work', 'we base', 'we have') and that newly arrived students and guardians are represented with a 'you' – a 'you' who is expected to *follow* and *respect*. Social pedagogical normative order in upper secondary school is represented in writing in the document in the following way ('You the parent/legal guardian may expect the following from the school'):

(1) *That we work in accordance with the regulatory documents for Swedish schools: The Swedish Education Act, curricula, and syllabi.*

(2) *That we base our work on the needs of the students, in order to provide all students with the best possible learning situation.*
(3) *That we provide a learning environment focused on knowledge, optimal learning conditions, safety, reliability, and respect.*
(4) *That we have clear processes for how we counteract and prevent wrongdoing.*
(5) *That we have clear procedures so that the students know what is expected of them.*
(6) *That we have a formative approach and that the educational development of the students is regularly monitored with regard to the national objectives.*
(7) *That our teachers are well trained and have clear and high expectations of all the students and of themselves.*
(8) *That we will invite you to a progress meeting once per term.*
(9) *That you will be treated in a professional manner (Document)*

Newly arrived students are expected to follow the normative order in upper secondary school by adapting to the new ('We expect from you that you'/ . . . /'Follow and respect the values and rules of the school'):

(1) *Follow and respect the values and rules of the school.*
(2) *Show respect for others and never take part in bullying or ostracism.*
(3) *Conduct yourself in an amiable manner, never use offensive language, but rather take care about the language you use.*
(4) *Arrive at lessons on time, have the right materials, and ensure that you have all you need during the school day (school materials, usable computer (charged), sports clothes etc.).*
(5) *Actively participate in your schoolwork.*
(6) *Take responsibility for what you do and when necessary get help from the school staff.*
(7) *Take responsibility for a good working environment in the classroom, corridors, and school dining room.*
(8) *Never use your mobile phone during a lesson without the permission of the teacher.*
(9) *Take care of books, computers, and other materials that you use in the school. (Document)*

The values of the school are related to the values of Swedish society, a new phenomenon that newly arrived students encounter in their new country. This phenomenon is also new for the 'parents/guardians' of the student, who are expected to follow the 'normal' order in the upper secondary school as well by supporting 'the school regulations' – all while in a new country into which their insight may be limited in relation to the school regulations and to the laws of the country at an overall society level. Moreover, the 'school regulations' are an area around which some of the professionals employed in Swedish schools need to develop their competence. Expectations of the students' legal guardians are represented in the following way ('We expect from you as parents/ guardians'):

(1) *That you support the school regulations.*
(2) *That with regard to your child, you have a positive approach to the school and its staff.*
(3) *That your child comes to school on time.*
(4) *That your child comes to school well rested.*
(5) *That you take an interest in your child's schoolwork.*

(6) *That as far as possible, you avoid your child missing school during term time.*
(7) *That you avoid calling or texting your child during lesson times.*
(8) *That you always have a current email address registered in the XX-modem system. (Document)*

With a critical hat on, we may state that some of these requirements are impossible to fulfil. Besides the problematic 'school regulations', noted above, another example is the formulation, 'That your child comes to school well rested'. How can a mother, father, or other guardian prescribed by the state (for example, for unaccompanied newly arrived students) know that the child is well rested upon arrival at school? At the breakfast table, the young person may seem well rested and deny being tired but may become tired on arrival at school. Moreover, some parents and legal guardians are not in a position to see the child in the morning because of their commitments in society. How should these parents and guardians judge whether or not the child is well rested? It might be possible for school staff to make this judgement when the young person comes the school, but even then there will be a large margin of error, especially if the young person maintains that they are feeling well rested while the school staff reach a different conclusion.

In the empirical material, it is observed that the rules of order in the class put the teacher on par with the police, with the right to temporarily confiscate the students' possessions ('mobile telephones'):

(1) *Where necessary, mobile telephones may be collected by the teacher at the beginning of the lesson and placed in a special box. Mobile telephones may only be used during lesson time with the agreement of the teacher or another member of staff. The teacher has the right to confiscate the mobile telephone during the lesson if the student is not following the school regulations.*
(2) *It is not permitted to film, photograph, or make an audio recording of anyone without their consent. (Document)*

In these empirical sequences, we see the representation of an ethnic social pedagogical normative order in the upper secondary school context and the production and reproduction of myriad images of what is expected of newly arrived students. These expectations include who they are and are expected to be, what they know and are expected to know, what they believe and are expected to believe, and what they learn and are expected to learn. The interactive dynamic and power relationship that is created and recreated in interactions, explicit and implicit, relate to an overall societal context ('nation' and 'culture') and an upper secondary school context related, explicitly and implicitly, to documentation in the form of curricula, rules, timetables, tests, and other practical teaching and learning situations. These phenomena (which empirically are expressed in documents from the upper secondary school context) probably affect interactive processes that include creation and recreation of the social pedagogical identities of newly arrived students during

pedagogical activities in upper secondary school as well as creation and recreation of social and pedagogical identities of newly arrived students outside the upper secondary school in an overall societal context. All of this is related to interactive production and reproduction of the beliefs, values, and morals of newly arrived students as well as their way of acting and speaking in both the upper secondary school context and an overall societal context.

Representation of a humiliated student identity

The upper secondary school context with both professional and non-professional actors who act in the context (students and various categories of teacher) may be analysed as an area of tension that is created and recreated in daily interactions related to the written and unwritten rules, norms, values, curricula and other practical teaching tools may lead to newly arrived students' experiencing their social pedagogical identities as being monitored, controlled, challenged, and threatened. In this section, sequences are shown from the empirical material of the study related to the image of a common ethnified 'we' in the relation between a mother tongue study supervisor and newly arrived students. In this case, there is the image of a humiliated self in which a newly arrived student in interactions and in narratives takes a distance from and shows resistance to the actions of the teachers. In these empirical sequences, an image is also produced of a contrast with what it is like for the *more well-established* students in a *more normal class* (at a more advanced Swedish language level). The social pedagogical phenomenon appears to be a product of the situation in which the newly arrived students find themselves. Below follows an extract from an observation during a lesson in upper secondary school.

> *It is a Swedish language lesson where the whole class are going through a text together from a textbook that they all have. The text is about a children's home. The teacher has the students read aloud, and after each section she goes through some 'difficult' words and explains them. Sometimes the students may try to explain the words, but usually it is the teacher who provides the explanation. An Arabic language study supervisor is sitting next to four students, two male and two female. The supervisor is constantly being asked questions by these students. The students appear to be using the study supervisor as a 'dictionary'. One student, sitting in front of me next to another student, has 'forgotten' his book, which creates some disruption in this particular row because this student is asking those sitting in front if he can borrow a book from them. He also puts up his hand and begins to shout 'teacher, teacher' when he doesn't get the word. However, there is no reply to his calling. Later in the lesson, about half an hour into the lesson, the student finds his book in his bag. The student sitting alongside me constantly wants to tell me that he is unhappy and tries in a whisper to explain why. Also note that the teacher appears to 'choose' to ignore this student. (I choose to interview this student at a later point because I am curious to know why he was so unhappy). At the end of the lesson, the teacher puts up the text without full stops and capital letters on the interactive board. The students*

have to discuss in pairs and 'correct' the text, changing it to how they think it should be. The students with a study supervisor get him to help. After a while, the class goes through the whole text together, putting in the full stops and capital letters where they should be.
(Field notes)

The field notes above place focus on the ethnic identity of the actors, based partly on language and multilingualism as two ethnicity markers in the school context ('An Arabic language study supervisor is sitting next to four students, two male and two female. The supervisor is constantly being asked questions by these students. The students appear to be using the study supervisor as a "dictionary"'). The mere presence of the study supervisor and the students in this situation actualises their ethnic identities – identities that in a social pedagogical meaning become visible as a contrast between categories – those who speak Arabic against those who do not speak Arabic. This contrast between ethnic categories contributes to the construction and reconstruction of an ethnified 'we' and 'they' positioning between actors in the observed situation. On the one hand, this state contributes to the creation and recreation of a common ethnified 'we' in the relationship between the study supervisor and the newly arrived students who all share the ability to speak Arabic – an ethnified 'we' that can be analysed as an opportunity that facilitates learning and development in a social pedagogical meaning. On the other hand, this positioning contributes to the creation and recreation of a 'we' and 'they' in the relationship between the study supervisor and the newly arrived students who speak Arabic and between other categories of teacher and newly arrived students who do not speak Arabic – a form of ethnified 'we' and 'they' obstacle that does not facilitate learning and development in social pedagogical meaning.

By their presence and action in the classroom, the study supervisor and the newly arrived students bring attention not only to their ethnic identities but also to the explicit and implicit ethnic social pedagogical monitoring in the situation. The image of the ethnic social pedagogical monitoring is actualised by means of the circumstance under which both the study supervisor and the newly arrived students are present in the situation and the fact that some of them speak Arabic and act interactively. The image of the social pedagogical monitoring may be analysed as being two-dimensional. We have a teacher in the situation who 'appears to "choose" to ignore' a student. We also have the student himself, who is monitoring the teacher and is active in his objective of apologising to the researcher who was observing the situation ('The student sitting alongside me constantly wants to tell me that he is unhappy and tries in a whisper to explain why').

The image of the ethnic social pedagogical control in the sense that newly arrived students in this situation are disciplined and regimented in accordance with written and unwritten rules, norms, values, curricula, and other practical

teaching and learning situations and daily business of the school may be understood from the above field notes related to what the teachers and newly arrived students do in the practical situation ('the whole class are going through a text together from a textbook that they all have/ . . . /The teacher has the students read aloud, and after each section she goes through some "difficult" words and explains them'). In contrast is the image of an 'unhappy' newly arrived student and the teacher's dismissive reaction to the student. By monitoring the teacher himself and actively acting with an objective in which he apologises to the researcher, the student offers a glimpse of his moral stance in a situation that is based on a contrast with the teacher's action.

During a subsequent interview, the unhappy student recounts the reason for his dissatisfaction. The student that the teacher ignores in the field notes above is the same one who expresses his unhappiness during the following interview. In the verbal representation during the interview, he refers to the details of his and his teacher's actions. The student distances himself from the actions of the teacher and from the decision that the teacher had taken. The origin of the displeasure appears to lie in the teacher's decision to move other newly arrived students from the class being analysed to a class with a higher linguistic level (more advanced level of Swedish). As a result of that decision, the unhappy student was left in the old class, even though he wanted to go with his friends to the new class, to social pedagogical activities at a higher linguistic level. The unhappy student is displeased because the constellation of students had changed following the summer break – new students have been mixed into the class after the break. The terms that ran through the student's verbal representations during the interview were 'Somalia', which was used eleven times during the interview; 'Swedish', which was used eleven times during the interview; 'disappointed', which was used seven times during interview; 'read/study' [läsa in Swedish], which was used five times during the interview; and the phrase 'not happy', which was used six times during interview. The unhappy student spoke Swedish with an accent. During the interview, the interviewer posed the question: 'Is there anything that's good at the school right now?' The student said:

> *At the moment it's not good/ . . . /It's not good for me! It's not for me./ . . . /I'm disappointed./ . . . /Sometimes I say to myself what are you doing here? I say to myself 'keep working, working'./ . . . /I read the whole of that book, you understand? And read the whole of that book. I started at 10 o'clock. I make it to a lesson, then I see the iPad book, it's in Swedish, the book. I will borrow a book about politics. Whole book I read. I read it, read it cover to cover, you understand? The whole book. Then when I got to school, she (the teacher) said 'I'm disappointed'. I read some . . . Sometimes I say to myself 'you have to keep going, Swedish, Swedish, read, have to'. I listened to a book about grammar. I read, two for example (books) in two weeks, or three weeks/ . . . /and I read and I understood. When I got to school, I was disappointed. She (the teacher) just talks.*

The student's verbal representation is an empirical example of production and reproduction of a successful student identity and a successful social

pedagogical development in the upper secondary school context ('keep working, working', 'I read the whole of that book', 'read the whole of that book', 'I will borrow a book about politics', 'Whole book I read. I read it, read it cover to cover, you understand?', 'you have to keep going, Swedish, Swedish, read, have to', 'I listened to a book about grammar'). With this representation, the picture is of an engaged and motivated student. The student's verbal representation is also, however, an empirical example of distance-taking and moral condemnation of the teacher's actions ('She (the teacher) just talks'). First, the student assails the teacher's action when he shows how committed and motivated he is. Second, the whole representation by the student can be analysed as an explanation in terms of a humiliated self. He distances himself from the teacher and from a decision that is also a decision by the institution (the upper secondary school). In this way, both the teacher's actions and the institution's decision are constructed as morally wrong. In addition, in the representation, the student appears to take the form of the victim in this situation.

It seems as if the interaction patterns represented in the interview and the field notes above ('Also note that the teacher appears to "choose" to ignore this student') produce and reproduce a particular kind of self in the unhappy student, a self that is characterised by exclusion and moral dissolution and weariness. The student in the empirical sequences above constructs and reconstructs his humiliated self when he describes the actions of the teachers and the institution (the upper secondary school). By distancing himself, the displeased student also demonstrates that he explicitly tries to monitor and control the teacher with the help of an external actor ('The student sitting alongside me constantly wants to tell me that he is unhappy and tries in a whisper to explain why'). The teacher in the field notes is represented as having overall and/or monitoring power in the social pedagogical meaning over the student, whom the 'teacher appears to "choose" to ignore'. The interview continues, and the interviewer poses the question: 'What do you actually want to do here in Sweden in the future?':

> *Student: The future. Mmm, I want to finish upper secondary school. Then go to university.*
>
> *Interviewer: You want to go to university?*
>
> *Student: Yes, I'm feeling disappointed at the moment. Wallah (expression in the student's mother tongue). I'm disappointed. In the future I want to go to my job and that. A person, he works all the time, for example he both works and studies. This is what he says. He works all the time./ . . . /Then I ask a teacher or something, and other person . . . 'No, you can't, you can't, you got no brain, you can't'. I feel so disappointed. Am I nothing, is that right? That's how it is.*

The student seems to be using his ethnic identity ('Wallah') and his humiliated self, which is characterised by exclusion and moral dissolution and weariness ('"No, you can't, you can't, you got no brain, you can't". I feel so disappointed.

Am I nothing, is that right? That's how it is') to represent himself as a victim in relation to the teachers and the institution (upper secondary school). His reasoning is that he wants to learn and is learning in the upper secondary school context, that he is motivated to learn and engaged in learning, and that he is developed in the social pedagogical meaning to such an extent that he ought to be moved to a class with a higher linguistic level (more advanced level of Swedish) where his friends moved. This reasoning does not appear to be shared by all of the actors in this particular upper secondary school context, related to the decision to keep the student in the class that is at a lower linguistic level (less advanced level of Swedish). The classroom observation also produces the image that this particular student has been branded a *troublemaker* – a student who should not be allowed to express himself in this situation ('Also note that the teacher appears to "choose" to ignore this student').

The interactive dynamic around this student in the upper secondary school context produces images of: 1) successful student identity; 2) successful social pedagogical development; 3) humiliated self, characterised by exclusion and moral dissolution and weariness; and 4) an ethnified victim identity contrasted against the teachers and the institution (upper secondary school). The interactive dynamic above (where the use of ethnicity is included) also manifests the morality. The use of ethnicity as a verbal tool in the representation of the denigration that the student has been subject to in the upper secondary school involves an ethnification of a morally wrong action produced and reproduced through the criticism aimed at the teachers and the institutions (upper secondary school). In this criticism, the emphasis is partially applied to the student's ethnic identity.

Conclusions

The aim of the present study is to attain new knowledge about interculturalism, ethnicity, and multilingualism in the upper secondary school context in conjunction with pedagogical work with students who are newly arrived in the country. Interculturalism, ethnicity, and multilingualism are important theoretical starting points for the analysis of identity creation and recreation of newly arrived students during pedagogical activities in upper secondary school, as well as in the analysis of the significance of this identity creation and recreation for overall inclusion and integration into the school community and society at large. These theoretical dimensions have been further developed within the framework of this study, and more *operative (analytical) concepts* in social pedagogical meaning have been used in the analysis of the empirical material collected. These operative concepts are 'ethnic social pedagogical normative order', 'ethnic social pedagogical control', 'ethnic social pedagogical monitoring', 'humiliated student identity', 'successful student identity', 'successful social

pedagogical development', 'humiliated self', 'exclusion', 'moral dissolution and weariness', and 'ethnified victim identity'.

In the empirical material analysed in the present study, some images of successful student identities and successful social pedagogical development and some images of a humiliated student identity and ethnic victim student identity are constructed and reconstructed based on a contrast with teachers and the institution (the upper secondary school). Successful student identities and success in the social pedagogical meaning are exemplified in the empirical material of the study as the student engagement and motivation that are demonstrated ('The supervisor is constantly being asked questions by these students'). The humiliated student identity and ethnified victim identity are exemplified in the empirical material of the study as the loneliness, resignation, and disappointment of a newly arrived student.

The analysis of the collected empirical material shows that the different social pedagogical identities of the students in the school context (such as ethnic identity, successful student identity, humiliated student identity, student victim identity) are constructed and reconstructed during pedagogical activities in the upper secondary school. During these activities, an ethnified 'we' and 'they' positioning between actors is produced and reproduced. This positioning is analysed in the present study both as an *obstacle* ('we' – 'they' in relations between various ethnic categories of student and professional actors or as ethnic social pedagogical control and monitoring) and an *opportunity* (common ethnified 'we' in relations between professional actors in the upper secondary school and students).

Ethnicity is a contentious marker in the secondary school context and thus a potential rhetorical weapon in interpersonal relationships. Ethnicity markers in this context are constantly present in different situations and make themselves felt in relation to participating actors in interaction and in relation to the public. Newly arrived students' language, multilingualism, culture, nation, religion, tribe, 'immigrantness', and skin colour make the upper secondary school context ethnified. This ethnification is partly influenced by and partly influences the specific social pedagogical control and monitoring of the context. When ethnic social pedagogical monitoring and control in the upper secondary school context are represented in writing by the institution (the upper secondary school), verbally in the observed situations, and during interviews with newly arrived students, a distance relationship between the institution and the newly arrived student is created and recreated in the interactive flow.

In the interactive dynamic, the newly arrived student is produced and reproduced partly as a successful student developing in the social pedagogical meaning and partly as a humiliated and excluded actor who, by means of representation of moral dissolution and weariness, demonstrates an ethnified victim identity in contrast to the teachers and the institution. During the identity creation and recreation of various social pedagogical identities in the upper

secondary school context, the newly arrived student uses ethnic markers rhetorically when recounting situations during pedagogical activities. In these representations, the newly arrived student presents a humiliated self by means of distance-taking from the teacher and in contrast to narratives about what it is like for the *more well-established* students in a *more normal class*. The represented disadvantage of the newly arrived student probably negatively affects the ability of the upper secondary school to succeed in its aim to include and integrate the newly arrived student into the school community and society at large.

An interesting issue that arose during the work for this study is whether, and if so what, newly arrived students and teachers think about the significance of *leadership* and *organisation* in social pedagogical work with newly arrived students. This gives rise to the question of how leadership and organisation are managed narratively by the teachers in their social pedagogical work and in the newly arrived students' representations about school situations related to the following issues: ensuring equal education organisationally in relation to the student category 'newly arrived'; ensuring interculturally appropriate educational quality in relation to the student category 'newly arrived'; identifying which teaching materials are appropriate; identifying how teacher competence can be developed; and determining how the school can create good conditions for cooperation in the overall school community and society at large.

Other interesting questions for further research relate predominantly to professional actors in the school context and focus on themes of intercultural competence, social pedagogical approaches, and access to language in the community at large. These questions relate to how professional actors in the school context contribute to stigmatising, excluding, and suppressing students and mother tongue teachers/study supervisors (who may be understood to belong to *the others* and not to *the normal ones*); how professional actors in the school context can critically approach concepts such as knowledge, identity, ethnicity, normality, and learning, and how they can develop their competence around tolerance, respect, and prevention of prejudice, bullying, and discrimination; and how the school and professional actors in the school may contribute to the individual newly arrived student, regardless of background, being able to gain access to and developing Swedish within the overall community of the school and society at large.

Note

1. Some parts of this text were previously published in the scientific article, 'Ethnic monitoring and social control: Descriptions from juveniles in juvenile care institutions' (Basic 2015), and in the independent work at the second cycle, 'School success for newly arrived students. An interactionist analysis of opportunities, obstacles, identities, and cooperation' (Kesak 2021).

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Notes on contributors

Hennie Kesak is a lecturer at the Department of Pedagogy and Learning, Linnaeus University within courses in Pedagogy in working life, education and everyday life as well as in several leadership courses. Kesak also teach in special education programs and preschool programs. In addition, Kesak work with assignments concerning school development projects and research.

Dr. Goran Basic is an associate professor in Sociology and a senior lecturer at the Department of Pedagogy and Learning, Linnaeus University. Currently analysing: 1) early coordinated initiatives for children who may be vulnerable to, or find themselves involved in criminality; 2) interests and expectations regarding continued studies at university level in relation to: proximity to studies, academic environment, selection of courses and programmes, and presence of research; 3) the achievements, obstacles, collaboration, and identities in senior high school work with students who use alcohol and drugs; 4) the possibilities, obstacles, identities, and collaboration in senior high school work with newly arrived students. Basic is working on a number of collaborations with stakeholders within and outside academia.

ORCID

Goran Basic http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6151-0934

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